/158 cont./

845 847 If twins are born, which apparently is very rare, one child is killed. When the twins are a boy and a girl, curiously enough it is the boy who is killed. The killing is done by the midwife or mother by burial immediately after birth.

● 852 A birth is celebrated by dancing, but only if enough food is on hand.

853 Nursing continues for two to three years.

764 [766] A distinction is made between people who have died "well," that is, easily and without a painful illness, and those who die in great pain.

The former are buried in the bush near the surface in the vicinity of the settlement, and the settlement is moved.

766 The latter, whom the Bushman probably regards as possessed and fears even after death, are not buried at all since they are abandoned even before death, and the entire settlement flees.

764 In the case of a burial, it takes place immediately after death.

The corpse is tied up in a crouched position, with the hands placed crosswise on the shoulders; the clothing is not removed.

The grave is not oriented with regard to any special direction; it is made as shallow and small as possible and is not provided with protective measures against predators.

The bow and the quiver with its contents are supposed to be hung on a stick planted into the ground over the head of the corpse. I present this with reservations, since I have never seen a grave marker of this kind.

761 People who have had a "good" death have died naturally; the others were bewitched. I use this expression, since it seems to me to come closest to the conception of the Auin.

766 If an Auin has murdered another Bushman, he drags him under a rosinkis bush and places him face downward on the ground.

765 The women of the settlement participate in the widow's lament, which consists of howling and screaming. External signs of mourning are not worn.

[15 cont.]

881 the man's encampment and took up married life. Nowadays the
585 first menstruation and wedding no longer always coincide.

584 The consent of the girl is absolutely necessary for the conclusion of the marriage. People often are betrothed already in childhood. Once the girl has grown up, that is, once she has become sexually mature, the suitor goes to the girl's parents. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to enter the encampments of their prospective parents-in-law. If father and mother agree, then they go to the grandparents to obtain their consent. Then oxen, wethers, and goats are collected for the feast. Then the suitor goes to his parents, who in turn consult the grandparents. In the bridegroom's house also livestock is now collected, or, as the case may be, begged or purchased.
585 Then a great feast begins. There is dancing, and long trumpets are blown.

During the wedding dance the men sing:
[539] "Huwi é haa -- huwi é taa -- huwi áni taa." (The girl has grown up.)

The women clap their hands and sing:
"Jee jeee ja! jee jeee ja!"

881 A boys' initiation in the true sense of the term is no
852 longer held. When the boy has grown up, however, a celebration is held and livestock is killed. Similarly, when a child has been born, a celebration takes place, at which wethers or sheep are slaughtered. It is striking that among these Bushmen a sheep usually takes the place of the goat.

551 The boy receives the father's name; the daughter, the
611 mother's name. The children belong to the family of the woman, and the oldest uncle, or oldest brother of the woman, is the head
582 of the family. It is prohibited to marry the children of the mother's sisters.

The kinship terms are as follows:

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German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
Father	//khum-khe	//gub, dadab, eib
Mother	//khums	//gus, is
Son	a X'oron-khe	/gõab/gõb
Daughter	X'ams-khe	/gōas/gōs
Brother	!gasab	!gasab
Sister	di !gas-khe	!gasas

[28 cont.]

535 585 makes his appearance as the bull of some animal species that the two kin groups especially prize. He takes his place in the row of dancing men. Across from them the women have taken up their position in a long row and accompany the dance by stamping, singing, and clapping their hands. The bride stands among them. She is in no way distinguished from the other women and girls. After a few turns, the bridegroom steps out of the row of men, goes dancing toward the bride, seizes her, and dances back again. The bride then comes from the row of women, clapping her hands, stamping, and singing as she moves toward the bridegroom; without touching him, she turns back, keeping her face turned toward the bridegroom, and rejoins the row of female dancers. With this, the external formality of concluding the marriage in front of many witnesses is over.

583 591 "It is the young man's duty, however, to leave his paternal kin group for a year and to work for his parents-in-law. This means that any spoils he gets from hunting must be left in his mother-in-law's hut. He, of course, gets his piece during the distribution of the meat, but he is not yet regarded as the actual provider for his young wife, who, as before, receives her share of the meat from her mother, although she searches for veldkost for herself and her husband.

[224] 262 "As a hunter, the man eats only the flesh of the rump. The women and children receive the legs and intestines. Children are not allowed to eat certain parts; for example, a child may not eat the heart of a jackal. The child would not become sick by doing so, but since the jackal is very cowardly, the child would also become cowardly.

[825] [828]

591 [29] "After the first year of marriage with its obligatory service, the young wife follows her husband to the encampment where the man's father or his kin group resides.

845 847 "If the child is so weak that it probably will not live, or if it has a physical defect, it is buried alive on the same day, with or without the consent of the father and mother.

553 852 "The name of the child is given by the father. This is done a few days after birth. The father spits on the child's chest and calls it by name. Others sprinkle it with water from a well.

[29 cont.]

553 The custom of spitting is undoubtedly original, not a substitute
● 852 for well water."

551 The father gives his newborn child a name. The boys usually receive animal names, commonly that of the grandfather, and the girls, plant names. Albinos are unknown among the !Kung
[142] tribes visited by me, but a horde of Bushmen with red eyes is supposed to live in the eastern Sand Veld in the region of the
[845] Dussidum. I have never seen twins; they are probably done away
853 with. The children are breast fed for a long time; older infants learn to squeeze the milk out of the breast with their fingers or pull with their teeth on the leathery nipples. The assertion of
847 other travelers that the women kill their children if they are born
[114] before the previous child has been weaned is allegedly not true of the kin groups visited by me. On the other hand, Vedder (1)

[113] 1. "Zur Vorgeschichte der eingeborenen Völkerschaften von Südwestafrika. I. Die Buschmänner [On the Prehistory of the Native Tribes of Southwest Africa]," by V. Vedder, Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society, Vol. I, p. 10, 1925-1926, Windhoek, 1927. -- Cf. also Von Zastrow and H. Vedder, op. cit., p. 414.

reports:

"I must mention one other custom which likewise considerably contributes, and may have contributed in prehistoric times, to the Bushmen being so few in number. Custom demands that a child born when the older child of the same mother is not yet three years old be buried alive. This is a gruesome custom. I spoke about it with a racially pure Bushman. My remonstrances did not convince him at all. He explained: 'We Bushmen are poor people. We have no goats and no cows to give our children milk. If the woman brings two children into the world within a period of three years, we don't know what the older child is supposed to live on if the newborn child uses up the mother's milk. It cannot live on the hard veldkost or on tough meat. The teeth are not yet strong enough. If we let the newborn

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

182 431 another through the seasons, always going back and forth between food and water, they carry their young children and their belongings. With plenty of most materials at hand to replace artifacts as required, the /Kung have not developed means of permanent storage and have not needed or wanted to encumber themselves with surpluses or duplicates. They do not even want to carry one of everything. They borrow what they do not own. With this ease, they have not hoarded, and the [556] accumulation of objects has not become associated with status. Instead of keeping things, they use them to express generosity and friendly intent, and to put people [159] under obligation to make return tokens of friendship. And, even more specifically, in my opinion, they mitigate jealousy and envy, to which they are prone, by passing things on to others. These are the objectives in gift-giving.

431 Except, as ≠Toma said, that it would be surprising to see a man give a present to a woman who was not related to him (and vice versa, I imagine), anyone may give to anyone. Degree or kind of kinship or affinity, having the joking relationship or lacking it, impose no requirements or restrictions, nor does status in the community in a conventional way. We did hear people say, however, that a headman may feel that he should lean well to the generous side in his giving, for his position as head- [602] man sets him out from the others a little and he wants whatever attention this attracts not to be envious. Someone remarked that this could keep a headman poor.

The times of giving are determined almost entirely by the individual's convenience. The /Kung do not know their birthdays or anniversaries and have no special days of the year which they mark by giving gifts. Gifts are required by convention on only three ceremonial occasions. The type or quantity of the gift is not patterned but it should be generous. The occasions are betrothals and weddings, when the [585] parents exchange gifts and give to the young couple, and the ceremony of a baby's [854] first haircut, when the */gu/na*, the person for whom the baby is named, should give him a fine present.

Relatives give to young people with the idea of setting them up in life. Gao Beard gave a spear and a kaross to his FaSiHuSo, saying it was his duty to see that the boy got some things because among the boy's relatives he was the most able to do so. The boy's father was very old, he explained. People expect to wait a long time for young people to make return gifts.

The two rigid requirements in gift-giving are that one must not refuse a proffered gift and that one must give in return. Demi said that, even if he might prefer not to be obligated to someone, he would accept and prepare to make his return gift. If a gift were to be refused, he continued, the giver would be terribly angry. He would [508] say, ' Something is very wrong here.' This could involve whole groups in tensions, bad words, taking sides—even ' a talk ' might occur—just what the /Kung do not want. Demi said it does not happen: a /Kung never refuses a gift. And a /Kung does not fail to give in return. ≠Toma said that would be ' neglecting friendship '. A person would know that others thought him ' far-hearted ' and ' this would worry him '.

In reciprocating one does not give the same object back again but something of comparable value. The interval of time between receiving and reciprocating varied from a few weeks to a few years. Propriety requires that there be no unseemly haste. The giving must not look like trading.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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The Ceremonial Curing Dance

The ceremonial curing dance is the one religious act which has form and in which the people are united. The purpose of the dance is to cure sickness and to drive away evil. If there is actual sickness among the people or if real misfortune has come upon them, the dance will be held especially to cure these ills. But the people dance often when no one is actually known to be sick, and when no particular misfortune has come, to drive away evil which might be there but which one cannot see, and to feel protected by goodness.

The protecting goodness is the ' medicine ', the magic power called *gaoxa*, which the /Kung believe the great god puts into the bodies of the medicine men and into the medicine songs. The /Kung believe that the great god endowed the power with its own autonomous potency, but nevertheless account for its failing to cure sometimes by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work or not, according to his pleasure or displeasure. *Gaoxa* is the power evoked and activated during the curing dance.

I believe the ceremonial curing dance to be a religious act, but, although very serious, especially in its final curing aspect, it is not piously solemn or constrained [517 and it provides occasion for pleasure and aesthetic satisfaction. The music can be 533] sung at any time, for lullabies or just for singing. Music and dancing are the arts of the /Kung. The good young dancers, especially, feel the delight which is inherent in fine integration of movement and rhythm (one can see this clearly), and the people watch and admire good dancing and take pleasure in it, and in the music.

Furthermore, the dances are a socially unifying factor. All the people of the werf come together and participate, men and women, old and young. The men often [852] dance with their babies on their shoulders in the early part of the dance, and the children dance and play among them, until they fall fast asleep in their mothers' laps.

[883] Anyone who wants a dance may start it by going around to people and asking them to come and begin. Someone who was sick would ask for a dance, but young people who love to dance often start just for fun. Sometimes their dances do not turn into curing dances, but usually, once the music begins, the adults join in and the dance becomes a real one. The dances last all night oftener than not. There is a special potency in those which are danced at dawn. The /Kung dance, at irregular intervals, on an average of once in ten days, more or less. Almost invariably they dance at least once during the full moon.

Among the /Kung the women and girls always sit close together in a circle around a dance fire which may be built wherever there is convenient clear space. Their function is to clap and sing. The men dance in a line, one close behind the another, around the circle of women, in either direction, and cut through the circle past the fire. They sing as they dance. Occasionally a woman gets up and dances with them, though it is not her role, as though she could no longer resist the impulse. When a woman joins the line of dancers, the man behind her holds out his arms towards her but does not touch her. She dances with dignity, making tiny stamping steps, hardly moving, eyes cast down. If there is a delicate overtone of eroticism expressed in the dancing of the women, it is most subtle and constrained—in extreme contrast to the overt expression of many of the Bantu dances.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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535 796 [756 781] consciousness or deep unconsciousness.[1] They may become stiff or froth at the mouth or lie still as if in coma. Some of them habitually remain in trance only a short time, others for hours. One man used to remain in a semi-trance for most of the day following a dance.

[755] A Bushman curing cannot be fully described in words; it must be heard and I give only an outline here. The medicine man begins by dancing and singing with the others whatever medicine song is being sung. He then leaves the line of dancing men and leans, still singing, over the person he is going to cure. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The /Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. He grunts with shuddering, gurgling, gasping grunts which intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high, piercing, quavering yell. Finally the medicine man throws up his arms to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *‖Gauwa* or the *‖gauwasi*, with a sharp yelping cry of '*Kai Kai Kai*'. This shows that it is heavy work to draw the sickness out. The effect of the sound on one observer, myself, was striking—gooseflesh and a stopping of the breath which made it seem as though the heart stood still an instant. A medicine man goes to every person present, leaning over each to cure, even the babies, who, amazingly, [852] seldom cry, though he gurgles and gasps right into their ears. If someone is actually sick, he returns to him again and again through the night.

After the curing has been going on for some time, medicine men begin to reach their state of frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. Fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. They rush out into the darkness, where *‖Gauwa* and the *‖gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. '*Filthy face*! Take away the sickness you have brought.' '*Uncovered penis*[2]! You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away.' '*Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die.' At this point they may fall into deep unconsciousness or sink down semi-conscious, eyes closed, unable to walk.

The medicine men who have not reached their full frenzy or who have passed through it attend those who are in it. The /Kung believe that at such a time the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *‖Gauwa* and the *‖gauwasi*. They call this '*half death*'. It is a dangerous time and the man's body must be watched over and kept warm. The medicine men lean over the one who is in trance. They

[276] [1] The /Kung know about the drug called dagga. They told us that it grows in B.P. and that when they go to trade they sometimes get a little. They like to have some when they go hunting; it keeps one from feeling tired or discouraged, they say. They might take some at a dance if they had it, but they are not dependent on it or on any other substance to induce trance. The trances are psychologically induced.

[195 578] [2] /Kung men swear a great deal. The swearing plays always upon the themes of the genital organs, sexual intercourse, incest, and excrement. In deprecation they call each other genital organs or tell each other to go and commit incest with their mothers, sisters, wives' mothers, or sons' wives. We have not recorded their saying '*daughter*'. Is that thought so terrible to them that its expression is beyond even these hardened swearers? They use the same themes in their blasphemy against the gods. '*Uncovered*' or '*thrown-away penis*' may mean '*circumcised*'. This is a great insult among the /Kung who do not circumcise but know that the Bantu do. '*Filthy face*' means '*covered with excrement*'.

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the tsi out of the ashes.

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[224]

choa-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it, and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

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No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them lazy in hunting.

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The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation ceremony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

[p. 266]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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believed that they bring ill-luck on the parents. What treatment is adopted in the other tribes is not definitely stated; among the Naron it appears that they are both allowed to live.

The exposure or killing of deformed children does not seem to occur in any of the tribes. Abortion, however, is often induced by treading on the body of the pregnant woman. It appears to be practised mainly when she is unmarried, and therefore to imply that only married women have the right to bear and rear children.

There is no account of any special ceremony held in connection with birth, although if there is enough food—but only then—a feast followed by a dance may be given by the parents. The child is usually named shortly after birth, without special ceremony. The name is given by the parents in consultation with the grandparents and other relatives, and among most of the North-Western tribes is generally that of some near relative. Boys, for instance, may receive the name of a paternal grandfather or uncle, girls that of a maternal grandmother or aunt. Often there is a squabble about the names between the father's people and those of the mother; whichever party is in force generally succeeds in having its wishes adopted, and the child is named after a member on that side of the family.[1]

The Heikum system of naming closely resembles that of the Hottentots, and has in all probability been taken over from them. "Each child," says Fourie,[2] "is generally given three names, namely a first name, a second name, and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother, and the second name by the old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the surname of the mother and girls that of the father.[3] Thus */Uirob Geirob /Geibeb* married a woman */Kao-tamas Gamanis /Garus* and begot two sons, namely *//Otoab /Gonab /Garub* and *Gogob Gomob /Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras /Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *//Otoab* become *//Otoab /Gonab /Garub /Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose. A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nicknames are common, and are given to children when quite young.

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 30–1; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66.

[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 61.

[3] This feature is specially characteristic of the Hottentot system of name-giving. V. below, p. 267.